

THE STUDY OF THE SECOND CONFLICT IN SAMPANG

Analisis terhadap Konflik Sampang II

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif. Konflik Sampang II terjadi antara massa dengan pengikut Tajul Muluk yang beraliran Syi'ah di Sampang, Madura. Kerusuhan dipicu oleh penghadangan massa terhadap santri-santri Tajul Muluk agar tidak kembali ke Pondok Pesantren YAPPI di Bangil Pasuruan. Pengumpulan data dalam penelitian ini menggunakan tiga jenis teknik pengumpulan data, yaitu wawancara (interview), telaah dokumen, dan pengamatan (observasi). Kajian terhadap peristiwa ini dilakukan dengan pendekatan analisis konflik. Dari hasil analisis konflik, menunjukkan bahwa peristiwa yang terjadi di Sampang memiliki akar konflik yang laten. Peristiwa Konflik Sampang II merupakan manifestasi dari akumulasi konflik laten yang terjadi akibat konflik pribadi yang dikemas dengan nuansa agama. Resolusi konflik dilakukan dengan pendekatan birokrasi dan pendekatan budaya.

Kata kunci: *Konflik Sampang, Analisis Konflik, Resolusi Konflik*

ABSTRACT

This research was basically based on qualitative study. It was the second conflict in Sampang, the rampage which exploded between some people who trying to block the Tajul Muluk's followers and preventing them from going back to the Pondok Pesantren (Islamic Boarding House) of YAPPI in Bangil, Pasuruan. The data in this study was collected using three sorts of data collection techniques: interview, document analysis, and observation. It was done by using the conflict analysis method, from which the writer found out that this second incident appeared in Sampang is manifestation of latent conflict accumulation which is actually personal conflict complicated by some religious issues. The conflict is to be resolved by using both bureaucracy and cultural approaches.

Keywords: *The Sampang Conflict, Conflict Analysis, Conflict Resolution*

INTRODUCTION

Being observed from historical point of view, the entrance and spreading of Syiah in Indonesia is still becoming controversial until nowadays (Shahir, in Suara Merdeka, September 3, 2012: 6). Although it is not a new sect (*mazhab*) in Indonesia, only a few people know about Syiah since it is not well-known as the other *sunni mazhabs* (Fadil, 2010). Internally, they come to Indonesia as Syafi'ite, but externally, they are actually Syi'ah. The first Muslim conveyors came from *Hadramaut*, and the most popular of them was the 'Alawiyyin, a group of people from the *Sayyid's* descendant (Rahmat, in the *Ulumul Qur'an's* Journal, No. 4, Vol. VI, 1995). The followings are several theories related to the widespread of Syi'ah in Indonesia.

The first one referred back to the time when Islam firstly entered Indonesia. Other evidences may support this opinion is the statement coming from the former Indonesian 4th president, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) as cited by *Editor* magazine No. 2/THN.II/February 15, 1996. He said that the NU (Nahdlatul Islam) is culturally Syi'ah itself. It was because the tradition of Syafi'i in Indonesia is different from that of outside Indonesia, which is strongly influenced by the Syi'ah's traditions, for example, there are some Syi'ah specific *shalawats* that are still being practiced in some Indonesian Islamic boarding schools. There are also several certain *wirids* which clearly mention the five descendants of *ahl al-bait*, cemetery visit (pilgrimage) and cemetery dome-making traditions. All of them are Syi'ah traditions, though they were born in the form of Syafi'ite in Indonesia. Thus, the outside form is Syafi'i, while the inside is Syi'ah. In addition, Gus Dur divided Syi'ah into two types: the *tsaqafiyah* (cultural) and the 'aqidiyah (political) (*TIRAS* Magazine, No. 3/THN.II/ February 15, 1996: 22).

The Syi'ah specific rituals—not Syafi'i's—are *tahlilan* and *haul*. Those are Syi'ah rituals which are not familiar in other Syafi'i *mazhabs*. Among NU members, they usually read the *shalawat diba'* in every Thursday night, which mention all twelve Syi'ah leaders (Djajadiningrat, 1961: 123-

124). As Agus Sunyoto's investigation against the Javanese graves in East Java, most of them are Syi'ah. He believes that the first Islam entered Indonesia was the Syi'ah Islam (*Ulumul Qur'an*, No. 4, Vol. VI, 1995). Then, there is also a theory from Ali Hasymi who believes that the first Islam came to Indonesia was the Syi'ah Islam (Hasymi, 1983: 45-46). According to Hamzah Alwi al-Habsyi, Syi'ah entered Indonesia at the same time with Islam, as proven by the history of Syi'ah city in Indonesia, called Syiah Kuala, in Sumatra. Another evidence came from the tomb stone of Maulana Malik Ibrahim's grave in Gresik, East Java, having Syi'ah sign: the *ayat al-kursy* with the Prophet's and his best friend Ali's name. It is not like other *Wali's* graves which usually have the four Prophet's best friends' names (*TIRAS*, No. 3,/THN.II/February, 15, 1996: 22). The second theory, Islam came to Indonesia is the Islam *Sunni* (Djajadiningrat, 1961: 123-124). The third theory, Syi'ah had just came to Indonesia after the Iran Islamic Revolution (IIR), started with Ali Syari'ati's, Murtadha Muthahari's, Thabathaba'i's, and Baqir Sadr's writings, followed by other Iranian Islamic writings afterward (*Ulumul Qur'an*, No. 4, Vol. VI, 1995).

Concerning on this reality, it is undoubtedly that the Syi'ah influences had been widely spread all over Indonesia since a long time ago. However, the Syi'ah followers are only minority in Indonesia, as well as those in Sampang Regency. Despite its minority, in fact, the religious issues-based conflict and violence have occurred there. After the first Sampang conflict in December 29, 2011, started with the burning of the *Tajul Muluk* followers' houses and worship's places, the second one re-occurred on Sunday, August 26, 2012.

This paper is formally based on the research done at Sampang Regency, and hoped that it will be such a good input to the principal board of the Ministry of Religious Affairs to decide the right plans and policies in solving the case. Therefore, the main issue of this writing is "to decide the pivotal factors or the root causes of the problem, the influential factors, and the effects of Sampang conflicts".

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study used several concepts to analyze the Sampang conflicts. *Conflict* is a social process in which people, either individuals or groups try to fulfill their aims by opposing other groups of people with threats and/or violence. (Soekanto, 1987:99). Other words for *conflict* are *argument*, *disagreement*, *contradiction* (Depdiknas, 2002: 587). According to Paul, Lawrence and Jay, and Lorsh, *conflict* is not something that has to be avoided and it is impossible to be swapped away, since *conflict* itself is a part of life, whereas Daihani (2001: 7) said that *conflict* is an *incompatibility* of various kinds of conditions. The basic causes of *conflict* are the differences of ethnic and culture, the discordance of people's requirements, and the social changes (Soekanto, 1987: 99).

Taufik Abdullah once stated that the main source of conflict in Indonesia is the diversity in racial, ethnic, culture, religious life, and the economic gap (Pantji, 2001: 26). Conflict does not always end negatively, because basically the result of interactions happened between different groups will be very much depend on the ability to manage (*the management ability*) conflict by the members of the conflict itself (Daihani, 2001: 8). The positive conflicts are those involving the goals, values, and/or requirements that are not contradictory with social relationship patterns of certain social structures (Soekanto, 1987: 99). Based on the types, conflicts can be differed into *latent conflict*; *open conflict*, and *surface conflict*. Whereas, the factors of conflicts are *Triggers*, *Pivotal factors* or *root causes*, *Mobilizing factors*, and *Aggravating factors*. Conflict analysis is a practical process to test and to understand the conflict realization from various perspectives to create fundamental steps in developing strategies and action plans.

The conflict happened between Syi'ah and Sunni, in fact, has ended in such an uncomfortable atmosphere and social disharmony among Sampang Regency's people. According to the government terminology, the harmony concept of religious life involves three kinds of harmony: internal religious harmony (the inner harmony

relationship inside a group of religious people), external religious harmony (the harmony relationship between groups of religious people), and the harmony relationship of each religious leader with the government (Sudjangi, *et al.*, 2003: 6). It is also written in the Rules of Minister of Religious Affairs and Minister of Internal Affairs No. 9 and 8, 2006, that the definition of "*The harmony life between religious people is a condition when a group of religious people interacts with other group of religious people based on tolerance, understanding, appreciating, and respecting the similarities in practicing each of their religious views and opinions, while correlating in social and nation life within one country of Republic Indonesia based upon Pancasila and The 1945's Constitution of Republic Indonesia*" (Ali, 2009: iii).

METHOD OF RESEARCH

This study focused on the Sampang conflicts started at Wednesday, August 29, 2012 and finished at Tuesday, September 4, 2012. As mentioned before, it used a qualitative method, in which the outcome was uttered words, both written and spoken, from the observed people (Moleong, 2000: 4). Whereas the type of study is a case study, a study in which the observer tries to study intensively about certain social units involving individuals, groups of people, or institutions (Zuriah, 2006:48). The data in this study was collected using three sorts of data collecting techniques: interview, document, and observation. It is therefore, the data based on an interview with Sjuuib, the secretary of Council of Indonesian Ulema (MUI)-Sampang Regency, on Friday, August 31, 2012 at 3.00 – 7.30 p.m.; with the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI) in East Java; with Mrs. Hani at the conflict scene. To get data completely, we also hunted the information from the *National and Political Unity Board* (Bakesbangpol) Sampang and observation at the village of Nang Kernang and Karang Gayam, Omben Sub-District, Sampang Regency and at Sampang Sport Stadium. Finally, this research is analyzed by using conflict analysis.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

History of Syi'ah Belief in Sampang Regency

In the beginning, the Syi'ah belief was spread in Sampang Regency by two brothers, namely Tajul Muluk and Roisul Hukama. Both are sons of the late KH. Makmum, a famous Islamic leader in Omben Sub-District. As sons of Islamic scholar (*ulama*) in Omben Sub-District, when they were young, they both studied at the YAPPI Islamic's Boarding School in Bangil Sub-District, Pasuruan Regency, from 1987 until 1993. After they graduated from that school in 1993, Tajul Muluk continued his study in Sayyid Muhammad Al Maliki's Islamic Boarding School in Makkah, Saudi Arabia. After finishing his study in Saudi Arabia, he came back to his hometown and became an Islamic teacher. Tajul Muluk was gradually not only the Islamic teacher, but also became Islamic leader like his father. He brought a new view of religion and soon had about 558 people as followers, consisted of 136 families and 159 disciples, until nowadays.

During this time, Roisul Hukama, who used to learn and to act together with his brother, Tajul Muluk, started to feel different from his brother's point of view and had different principles in the belief. The conflict reached its peak when in December 15, 2009, Roisul Hukama stated literally to split out from his brother's lead without specific reasons.

After Roisul Hukama left, Tajul Muluk himself still continued to teach until recently. Moreover, he is also the leader of the Organization of Indonesian Ahlul Bait's Followers Association (IJABI) in Sampang Regency. However, based on the data and the information gained from the Sampang Regional Office *National and Political Unity Board* (Bakesbangpol), the organization led by Tajul Muluk has not been legally registered since it does not have a letter of registration (SKT) from it. Although, nationally, the IJABI organization established in Jakarta, in July 1, 2000, had been legally registered at the *Directorate General of Political and National Unity* of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, No. 21/D.III.2/2007, in March 21, 2007.

Based on an interview between the writer and Sjuuib, the secretary of *Council of Indonesian Ulama* (MUI), Sampang on Friday, August 31, 2012 at 3.00-7.30 p.m., the MUI of East Java had regarded the belief taught by Tajul Muluk as Syi'ah. Sjuuib also clarified that Tajul Muluk's belief could be classified as *Syi'ah Itsna 'Asyariah* as mentioned in the *Council of Indonesian Ulama* (MUI)-Sampang, No. 037/MUI.Spg/I/2012, dated January 1, 2012, about the *Islamiyah Syi'ah's* belief.

Chronological Order of the 2nd Sampang Conflict (Timeline Analysis)

Pre-Conflict Period

As time passed, these two brothers (Tajul and Rois) have been quarreling and disagreeing in practicing their religious belief. Another reason that some people there might also guess the cause of conflict was competition on a woman. It then made him separated from his brother's group and provoked the society around by spreading the news that Tajul Muluk's teaching is truly Syi'ah. This made the people who do not follow his belief feel irritated and started to contradict Tajul Muluk and his followers.

When this issue had become more aggravated, the community of the Karang Gayam Village whom mostly are the *Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah's* followers, became angry and in December 29, 2011, at about 9.15 p.m. the conflict became rampaged riot and violence could not be avoided. They burned and did vandalism against Tajul Muluk's house, kitchen, mosque and *Madrasah Diniyah* (at least 4 buildings had been destroyed and burned). It was then followed by the evacuation of 253 Tajul Muluk's followers. These were performed by a group of people declared themselves as *Sunni*, although it is still being further investigated by the police who interviewing some witnesses to make sure whether they are really *Sunni* or not. From the incident, the Sampang Local Police Officers had interrogated 15 people as witnesses, and arrested one person, Masrikhan as convict.

The Syi'ah followers (253 people) whom previously evacuated and secured at the Omben

Sub-District's Office to avoid further conflict with *Ahli Sunnah Wal Jama'ah* followers, had been relocated at the Sampang Sport Stadium, while Tajul Muluk decided to leave the village and stay in Malang since August 2011. It is in accordance with his statement quoted in July 29, 2011, to leave Sampang for the *maslahat* of his followers.

However, after Tajul Muluk was successfully removed to Malang, he was then found guilty in the first Sampang conflict. During the trial, the Local Prosecutor blamed him for committing a crime which could be considered as ruining the Islam religion, under three points of charge: religion abuse, hostility and harm against Islam religion, as stated in the *KUHP* (Book of the Criminal Justice Act) section no. 156 a, and the one that was used by the Local Prosecutor is section no. 335 verse 1 from the *KUHP* (in the section of Unpleasant Actions). Based on this verse, Tajul Muluk was sentenced by the Local Prosecutor with four years imprisonment. By considering section no. 156 a from the *KUHP* about The Rules of Criminal Procedures and Other Laws regarding this case, the Head of the Judges' Panel, Mister Purnomo Andi Cahyo, SH., MH., decided that Tajul Muluk was officially proved to be guilty in committing crime against Islam religion, and punished him two years in prison.

After Tajul Muluk was sentenced and started to undergo his life in prison for two years, peace had been back to Sampang community and the situation was getting better in every single form of life. Unfortunately, it was not going for long, Tajul Muluk's sister, Umi Hani, revealed to still continue his teaching upon Nang kernang children, by sending them to the Islamic Boarding School in Bangil-Pasuruan, Pekalongan and Jepara - Central Java, so that they can carry on with the Tajul Muluk's belief.

D-Day of Conflict (August 26, 2012)

On Sunday, August 26, 2012 (Islamic date: Syawal 8, 1433 H), Hani intended to take the children from Nang Kernang Village back to their Boarding School in Bangil, Pasuruan by renting two cars, a mini bus and a station wagon. The two vehicles arrived at about 08.00 a.m. at the Karang

Gayam main road. But, when people found out that there were two cars ready to bring their children to the Islamic Boarding School in Bangil, they would not let them go because they worried their children would have grown to be like Tajul Muluk there. Then, they asked the drivers not to go there with their children, but Hani insisted that made the people angry and started to throw stones at the vehicles. Being frightened by the people's fury, the two vehicles left the village empty loaded, without their passengers.

On the other hand, Hani did not fear at all by the incident, and still tried to find other van at the main street that made the society getting more fuming and triggered the upcoming conflict and violence. Being chased by a group of enraged people riding about 30 motorcycles, Hani and the van driver ran to the south (the capital city of Sampang Regency), but they both finally stopped and Hani had a strong quarrel with the people who chased her.

Next, at about 11.30 a.m., a group of people who belongs to the Sunni ran amok and attacked the Tajul Muluk's followers, resulted both in chaos and material-loss. This August 26, 2012's incident happened in Sampang had not only material-loss but also human victims. One man died at the conflict scene, namely Mr.Hamamah, and the other one, Mr.Thohir, was directly rushed to the Sampang public hospital and was in a critical condition. Besides, there were also sixteen other persons got injured, eleven of them were from the Tajul's group, and the rest five persons were common natives. Triggered by the incident, the rest of the Sampang community burned down 43 houses of Tajul Muluk's followers (based on an interview with Mrs.Hani at the conflict scene). The local police officers had interrogated seven witnesses and arrested one suspect regarding the case of 2nd Sampang conflict.

Post-Conflict Period

The Tajul's followers and the bodies of Mr.Hamamah and Mr.Thohir (alive but in a critical condition), were evacuated outside the conflict scene by 6 p.m. One dead victim and several

wounded others were brought to Sampang public hospital, while the rests were strictly secured and monitored under surveillance and control of the security guard officers, and were transferred to Sampang Sport Stadium, which until Monday, August 27, 2012 at 11 a.m. their numbers are not less than 204 refugees.

By Friday, September 2, 2012 at 8 a.m., their total numbers increased to be 282 refugees, consisted of 75 men, 71 women, 99 children (53 boys and 46 girls), 18 male infants and 19 female infants. These refugees got maximum facilities of service, such as health examination, foods, clothes and other daily needs.

On Tuesday, August 28, 2012, located in the *Pringgitan* Room of the Sampang Regent's home office, a meeting between the Sampang Regent and some Islamic religious leaders was held. The participants in the meeting are The Head of Sampang Regional Office of Social, Man Power and Transmigration, The Head of Sampang Regional Office of Integrity Nation and Politics, The Head of Omben Sub-District, The Head of Karang Penang's Sub-District, KH. Ahsan Jamal (a member of Sampang Regional Parliaments), KH. Buchori Mah'sun, KH. Ludfilah, KH. Subaidi, with several other Omben and Karang Penang's Islamic leaders. The conclusion of the meeting was to continue and to support the law enforcement in Sampang completely and do the best to bring back the Tajul Muluk's refugees to Sampang with opinions and supports from both Islamic and public leaders of Omben and Karang Penang implied in the action. However, if the scenario failed, then plan B was to be carried out, which is to remove the Tajul Muluk's followers out of Karang Gayam Village, Omben Sub-District, and also from Blu'uran Village, Karang Penang Sub-District. For children who had been sent out of the regency to study, the Government of Sampang Regency would try to bring them back to Sampang and ready to facilitate and replace all charges incurred during their time of study.

On Friday, August 31, 2012, another meeting had also been organized at the *Pringgitan* Room of

the Sampang Regent's home office. It was between the Sampang Regent and the Basra's leaders. The other participants in the meeting were the Head of Sampang Regional Office of Social, Man Power and Transmigration, The Head of Sampang Regional Office of Integrity Nation and Politics, The Head of Omben Sub-District, The Head of Karang Penang's Sub-District, KH. Ali Karrar Shinhaji, KH. Nailirrahman, and the Basra's leaders. The conclusion of the meeting was to continue the returning attempt of the Tajul Muluk's followers back to Karang Gayam Village, Omben Sub-District, and to Blu'uran Village, Karang Penang's Sub-District, under condition that they all had to promise to fully give up and surrender; and also made such an effort to take the Tajul Muluk's followers to get a better and safe place.

Conflict Factor Analysis against the 2nd Sampang Conflict

Trigger

The 2nd Sampang conflict happened at the Nang Kernang's Sub-Village, Karang Gayam Village, Omben's Sub-District, Sampang Regency on Sunday, August 26, 2012, was in time with the Telasan Topak's tradition, that is a Madura's tradition of cooking *kupat* at the 8th day of Syawal month. According to KH. Sjuuib (a secretary of Sampang Regency's Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI)), this incident had a link to the first conflict happened a year before, even the root of the trouble was when Tajul Muluk came back from Saudi Arabia to Nang Kernang's Sub-Village bringing along his Syi'ah's belief and started to teach it to the neighborhood. This type of religious teaching caused such an unpleasant situation to the community whom majority of them are *Ahlul Sunnah Wal Jama'ah*'s followers. They began to feel anxious (derived from an interview with Sjuuib, a secretary of MUI, Sampang, on Friday, August 31, 2012, at 3.00 – 7.30 p.m.).

Furthermore, the writer received information from the Sampang Regional Office of *National and Political Unity Board* (Bakesbangpol), that on Monday, September 3, 2012, the 2nd Sampang conflict was truly triggered by several causes.

There are two versions: *first*, it is believed that the conflict began when the Muslim students and their families planned to visit Tajul Muluk at the Local Penitentiary. *Second* version was the blockage attempt from a group of people to some Muslim students who wanted to go back to their Syi'ah Boarding School in Bangil, Pasuruan. Those students along with Umi Hani, Tajul Muluk's sister, were being stopped and threatened by a group of people, because they did not want any more Syi'ah's apprentices who can be a potential harm to their old, valuable culture and tradition which they had been practicing since a long time ago. This action was a kind of expression to protect their tribal tradition against bad foreign influences in the form of religious views. They were afraid if they let their children go to study the Syi'ah belief in Bangil, Pasuruan, those would bring back the Syi'ah teachings to Omben Sub-District, which they believed to be a bad misguided belief. The teaching and educating of Syi'ah belief to them was the main reason of the conflict between Tajul Muluk's followers and Roisul Hukama's followers.

Root of Problem (Pivotal Factors)

The second conflict happened in Sampang is an accumulation of many problems as a result of the first previous conflict. The writer assumed that the main root of these conflicts is a competition between two Islamic leaders in which both are brothers, complicated with different understanding on religious belief, racial and tribal issues (SARA: ethnic, religion, racial) that provoked anarchism and violent behavior to the surroundings.

Furthermore, the writer thought that the source of Sampang conflict could be based upon several things. *First* was private (personal) matter between Tajul Muluk and his brother, Rois Hukama that had happened since 2004 and still going on until now. From the villagers' story, the writer found out that these brothers were quarrelling about woman. Tajul Muluk, as an elder brother, gave advice to his younger brother, Rois Hukama, not to make fun of women. *Second* was the competition of the two brothers to win more influence towards followers. Then, *third* was the different way in understanding

religion, Tajul Muluk's and Ahli Sunnah Wal Jamaah's (Aswaja/Sunni) belief. Finally, *fourth* was the spreading of Tajul Muluk's belief around Sampang Regency.

Mobilizing Factors

The conflicts happened in Sampang were very much influenced by several mobilizing factors, rousing the rampage and aggression. Those are: *first*, the provocation committed by the Syiah's followers to the Sampang origins in the form of body language threats, like aiming a 'clurit' (a long-bended knife) towards the people, while shouting such dirty words and curses (derived from an interview with Sjuuib, a secretary of Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI)-Sampang, on Friday, August 31, 2012). *Second* was the existence of provocateurs. The *third* is the emerging of groups of people who initiated the anarchism. Finally, the *fourth* was the use of dynamites within the conflict by the Tajul Muluk's.

Aggravating Factors

The first Sampang conflict ended by finding Tajul Muluk as the guilty one and the judges sent him two years in prison. The writer predicts that the aggravating factors to Sampang conflict are, *first*, the judge's punishment to Tajul Muluk (two years imprisonment minus temporary time served) was considered too easy and unfair for such a religion defamation that made the Omben Sub-District people unsatisfied. The *second* was a statement released by Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI)-Sampang, No.A-035/MUI/Spq/I/2012, dated January 1, 2012, about the Syi'ah belief. According to MUI, the teaching brought by Tajul Muluk to Karang Gayam Village, Omben Sub-District, was a misguided faith, and defamation to Islam. Besides, BAPOR PAKEM, Sampang Regency also reported that ether Tajul Muluk's or Ali Murtadlo's ideas were misled.

The declaration from the MUI, Sampang, made the residents confirmed not to accept the Syi'ah followers back to Nang Kernang Sub-Village. *Third* was the publishing of Governor Regulation (Pergub) No. 55, in 2012, explaining

about the Development of All Religious Movement and Supervision toward Misguided Faiths in East Java. The establishment of these regulation, even though not literally mentioned about the Syi'ah, but what happened in Sampang had been one of the social reasons why these rules were composed. *Fourth* was the army presence in dealing with the irritated crowd. As the writer's observed, there were only about 30 officers from the local police station, whom belong to Omben and Karang Penang District Police. While the bigger rider squads with about 300 members of Pamekasan Mobile Brigade had just arrived at 1 p.m. by the time there had been burning, destructing, Committing anarchism, vandalism, and killing around the village. The mass could have just been brought under control by Maghrib time (around 6 p.m.). It gave impression that the police and the army seemed to let the conflict happen and the security acts were not in maximum scale, even looked neglect. After the second Sampang conflict occurred, according to the data acquired from Sampang Regional Office of *National and Political Unity Board* (Bakesbangpol), the number of security guards instructed to recover the conflict were about 1.100 men, with details 350 persons were army soldiers and 750 persons were police officers. Thus, there was never such an unleash act from the military services. Finally, the *fifth* was an additional crowded came from out of the village, whom among of them were groups of people from Pamekasan, who worsen the situation because of their combining anarchy acts.

CLOSING

Conclusion

The main reason of what had happened in Karang Gayam Village, Omben Sub-District and Blu'uran Village, Karang Penang Sub-Ditric, was undeniably the community's desire to keep their environment peaceful by not letting any other apprentices in any misled belief who had the potential to ruin the existing traditions and cultural values there. The society who disagreed with the Tajul Muluk's beliefs created such an inner latent conflict between the Syi'ah belief and

Ahli Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja/Sunni). The private conflict between Tajul Muluk and Roisul Hukama because of woman since 2004, and the leadership competition between the two came in additional causes to the crisis. The existence of Tajul Muluk's cult could be such an annoyance to the local resident, and that is why the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI)-Sampang, released a statement No.A-035/MUI/Spq/I/2012, dated January 1, 2012, claimed that the Syi'ah belief as was brought by Tajul Muluk was a misguided belief while degrading and desecrating Islam religion. Besides, there was also a report from Sampang Regency's *BAPOR PAKEM* concluded that Tajul Muluk's or Ali Murtadlo's teaching was wrong. The impact of Sampang conflict in August 26, 2012, was 1 man died, 1 man in a critical condition and 16 others were injured. Another effect was 43 burning buildings and 282 refugees from the Syi'ah followers who evacuated to and had to stay in the local Sport Stadium. The local police officers had also checked on several witnesses and identified 1 offender in this case.

Recommendation

At least, there are some methods that can be used to solve this problem. The *first* is through the bureaucratic (political policy) approach. It is to solve the case by using the government policy. In this case, the government must enforce and run the law as fair as possible (short term effort), while in long term effort, the government has to settle the Syi'ah refugees immediately, whom until now are still scattered at the Sampang Sport Stadium. The Karang Gayam Village's refusal toward the Syi'ah followers should be brought into consideration by the government to figure out another safe place for them to live. If the option of returning the Syi'ah followers back to their village is considered to be a better step then it should be done as soon as possible by enforcing all involving government ranges to organize such a *peace-making* and a *peace-building* schedule then implementing it, especially within areas with high risk of latent religious conflict. Whereas, the Ministry of Religion Affairs through Local Office of

Religion Affairs should also participate along with the Religion Affairs instructors in building unity values of the community. The *second* method is through cultural approach, trying to implement local wisdom to solve the conflict. This plan could be done by establishing peaceful apprentices and training them *peace-making* acts. Hopefully, this effort may have a good output, producing some tolerable apprentices who have a high regard and respect to other religion and its believers, so that the people in Karang Penang and Omben will be able to build such an open dialogue and have a good manner in dealing with other religious devotees.

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